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Message Text

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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TAGS: PEPR, MASS, TU, CY, GR

SUBJECT: CLARK CLIFFORD STATEMENT BEFORE SFRC MAY 2

FOLLOWING IS TEXT AS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY CLARK CLIF-
FORD BEFORE SFRC MAY 2, 1978:

BEGIN TEXT: I PARTICULARLY WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO
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APPEAR BEFORE YOU TODAY TO PRESENT MY VIEWS AS YOU CON-
SIDER THE ADMINISTRATION'S SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROPOSALS
FOR GREECE, TURKEY AND CYPRUS. AS ONE WHO WAS INTIMATELY
INVOLVED IN THE POST-WORLD WAR II PROGRAMS WHICH SO DRAMA-
TICALLY AFFECTED GREECE AND TURKEY--AND WHICH CAME TO BE
KNOWN AS THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE--I HAVE HAD A CONTINUING
SPECIAL INTEREST IN THE PROBLEMS OF THE EASTERN MEDITER-

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RANEAN. I AM DEEPLY CONSCIOUS OF THE INTEREST AND IN-
VOLVEMENT THIS COMMITTEE HAS IN THESE ISSUES. EVEN PRIOR
TO THE MISSION I UNDERTOOK TO THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN
OVER A YEAR AGO AS THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE,
I HAD USEFUL TALKS WITH MANY OF YOU. MOREOVER, UPON
RETURNING FROM THAT MISSION, I SHARED MY IMPRESSIONS AND
VIEWPOINTS WITH INTERESTED MEMBERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE
CONGRESS. IN THE ENSUING MONTHS, I HAVE REMAINED ACTIVELY
INVOLVED IN THE CONTINUING EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS
ON CYPRUS AND I HAVE FOLLOWED CLOSELY THE DEVELOPMENTS IN

THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

LET ME SAY AT THE OUTSET THAT I FULLY ENDORSE THE POSI-
TIONS TAKEN BY DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, SECRETARY
BROWN AND GENERAL JONES IN THEIR APPEARANCES BEFORE THIS
COMMITTEE TODAY. THE PROGRAM WHICH THEY OUTLINED RE-
LATES TO A PART OF THE WORLD WHICH VITALLY CONCERNS THE
INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES. IT INVOLVES TWO OF OUR
VALUED NATO PARTNERS. I CAME AWAY FROM MY MISSION TO THE
AREA LAST YEAR WITH A RENEWED APPRECIATION OF THE ENORMOUS
IMPORTANCE OF THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF NATO. THE INTEGRITY
OF THE SOUTHERN FLANK MUST BE RESTORED. IT IS MORE CLEAR
THAN EVER THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST TAKE WHAT STEPS IT
CAN TO FACILITATE THIS PROCESS--AND SOON.

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THE KEY FACTOR IN THIS PROCESS IS THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF
SOUND BILATERAL AND SECURITY RELATIONSHIPS WITH GREECE AND
TURKEY. I FULLY APPRECIATE WHY THE ADMINISTRATION HAS DE-
CIDED THAT THE BEST WAY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS GOAL IS TO
DEVELOP A BILATERAL DEFENSE ARRANGEMENT WITH TURKEY MORE
IN KEEPING WITH TODAY'S REALITIES. THIS ACTION WILL PRO-
MOTE U.S. INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES ON THIS SENSITIVE NATO
FRONT AND PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK FOR BILATERAL COOPERATION
DESIGNED TO REINFORCE NATO AND OUR COMMON SECURITY CON-
CERNS. THE BENEFITS TO THE WESTERN ALLIANCE WILL BE GREAT.

WE MUST RECOGNIZE THE COMPELLING NEED TO PROTECT AMERICAN
INTERESTS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND THE NEED TO PUT
OUR RELATIONS THERE IN ORDER. ACTION WAS TAKEN IN THE
CONGRESS AGAINST TURKEY FOLLOWING THE INTERVENTION IN
CYPRUS IN 1974. THREE YEARS HAVE PASSED. WHATEVER THE
ORIGINAL MERITS OF THIS APPROACH, IT IS CLEAR TODAY THAT
A NEW APPROACH IS NECESSARY. WHERE HAS THE PRESENT POLICY
BROUGHT US? IT HAS DEMONSTRATED THE CONCERN OF THE AMERI-
CAN PEOPLE THAT ALL ASPECTS OF BILATERAL COMMITMENTS WITH
US BE FULLY RESPECTED. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT HAS RESULTED
IN THE SUBSTANTIAL EROSION OF THE ABILITY OF AN ALLY TO

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CONTINUE TO FULFILL ITS ESSENTIAL NATO RESPONSIBILITIES, THUS UNDERMINING NATO STRENGTH IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. AND IT HAS, IN MY VIEW, SERIOUSLY REDUCED AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN TURKEY AND THUS RENDERED PROGRESS ON CYPRUS MORE DIFFICULT.

TODAY, TURKEY IS QUESTIONING THE RELIABILITY OF AMERICA AS AN ALLY. THE CURRENT UNITED STATES POSTURE TOWARD TURKEY IS SUBJECTING OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH THIS IMPORTANT NATO ALLY TO AN INTOLERABLE BURDEN. A RELATIONSHIP OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE, BUILT UP OVER MANY YEARS, HAS BEEN

SERIOUSLY AND ADVERSELY AFFECTED. WE STAND AT A CROSSROADS; WE CAN PRESS AHEAD WITH A PROGRAM DESIGNED TO RECTI-
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FY THE SITUATION THROUGH THE NORMALIZATION OF OUR DEFENSE RELATIONSHIPS WITH TURKEY, OR WE CAN CONTINUE WITH THE POLICIES OF THE PAST--AN APPROACH WHICH HAS CLEARLY NOT OBTAINED THE DESIRED RESULTS BUT, IN ADDITION, HAS ALSO DAMAGED U.S. STRATEGIC INTERESTS IN THE AREA. WE MUST ACT TO RESTORE TURKEY AS A FULL AND EQUAL PARTNER IN THE NATO ALLIANCE. AS A FIRST STEP, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO LIFT THE NEGATIVE SYMBOL IN OUR RELATIONS WITH TURKEY WHICH THE EMBARGO REPRESENTS. TO THE EXTENT THAT THIS ACTION RESTORES TRUST AND CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY, IT ALSO ENHANCES THE PROSPECTS FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE ON OTHER REGIONAL PROBLEMS OF MUTUAL CONCERN.

I STRONGLY ENDORSE THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSALS BECAUSE I HAVE CONCLUDED THAT WE HAVE REACHED THE POINT WHERE WE MUST MOVE AHEAD IN AN EFFORT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH TURKEY. I SAY THIS AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF DISAPPOINTMENT THAT GREATER PROGRESS HAS NOT BEEN MADE IN THE RESOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM--A SITUATION WHICH MUST ALSO BE REMEDIED IF WE ARE TO WITNESS A FULL AND DURABLE RESTORATION OF STABILITY IN THE TROUBLED EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. CERTAINLY, WE CONSIDER A CYPRUS SOLUTION TO BE IMPORTANT TO OUR INTERESTS. WHILE I WILL NOT TAKE THE TIME TO RECOUNT THE STEPS WE HAVE TAKEN, THE RECORD OF THIS ADMINISTRATION AND ITS DEEP COMMITMENT TO ACHIEVING A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT IS A PROUD AND CONTINUING ONE. NO OTHER SINGLE GOVERNMENT HAS DONE MORE THAN OURS TO ASSIST THE UNITED NATIONS TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF A JUST, STABLE, AND LASTING CYPRUS SOLUTION.

BUT I SHOULD REFER ALSO TO THE NEW OPPORTUNITIES WHICH EXIST TO RECORD REAL PROGRESS ON CYPRUS. PRIME MINISTER
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ECEVIT HAS CALLED FOR A RAPID RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUE.
THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAVE OUTLINED PROPOSALS ON THE TERRI-
TORIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM TO
UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM. I HOPE THAT WE
WILL SOON SEE A RESUMPTION OF FULL AND SERIOUS NEGOTIATION
OF THE KEY ISSUES. I BELIEVE THAT ALL THE PARTIES DESIRE
TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM, ONCE AND FOR ALL. FULL ADVANTAGE
MUST BE TAKEN OF ANY OPPORTUNITY THAT ARISES FOR RESUMING
THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. FOR MY PART, I AM CONVINCED THAT
OUR GOVERNMENT WILL NOT SLACKEN, IN ANY WAY, ITS SUSTAINED
EFFORTS TO DO WHAT IT CAN TO OPEN THE PATHWAY TO A FINAL,
JUST ACCORD. I FOR ONE AM PERSONALLY READY TO DO WHATEVER
THE PRESIDENT AND THE PARTIES MIGHT AGREE WOULD BE USEFUL

TO HELP THE UNITED NATIONS IN ACHIEVING A JUST AND PEACE-
FUL SOLUTION.

I BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE ADMINIS-
TRATION'S PROPOSALS SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED AS ADVERSELY
AFFECTING THE INTERESTS OF ANY OTHER PARTY. SPECIFICALLY,
THE UNITED STATES HAS NO INTEREST IN MAKING A CHOICE
BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY. WE HAVE STRONGLY SUPPORTED
THE ATHENS GOVERNMENT SINCE THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY
IN 1974, AND THIS SUPPORT WILL REMAIN UNFLAGGING AS WE
SEEK FURTHER TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THAT CLOSE ALLY.
IT IS CLEAR THAT IT IS IN GREECE'S INTEREST TO HAVE ITS
NEIGHBOR TURKEY STRONGLY LINKED TO THE WESTERN ALLIANCE.
ANY WEAKENING OF TURKEY'S TIES TO THE WEST AND ANY WEAKEN-
ING OF TURKISH DEMOCRACY AND MODERATION WOULD BE UNSETTLING
TO THE GENERAL SITUATION IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND
CERTAINLY WOULD NOT BENEFIT THE QUEST FOR A CYPRUS
SETTLEMENT. WE STAND READY, AS ALWAYS, TO DO WHATEVER
WE CAN TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS AND
PEOPLE OF AMERICA AND GREECE.

I URGE THIS COMMITTEE TO GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THE
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ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSALS. IN MY JUDGMENT, THEY OFFER
THE MOST PRACTICAL AND EFFECTIVE MEANS TO GUARANTEE THAT
OUR INTERESTS IN THE AREA ARE SERVED, WHILE, AT THE SAME
TIME, CREATING CONDITIONS CONDUCIVE TO SETTLING THE FES-
TERING PROBLEMS OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. IN FACT,
IF WE ARE TO PREVENT A MORE SERIOUS DETERIORATION IN THAT
AREA, I BELIEVE CONGRESSIONAL PASSAGE OF THIS SERIES OF

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PROPOSALS IS A MINIMUM REQUIREMENT. END OF TEXT. VANCE

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